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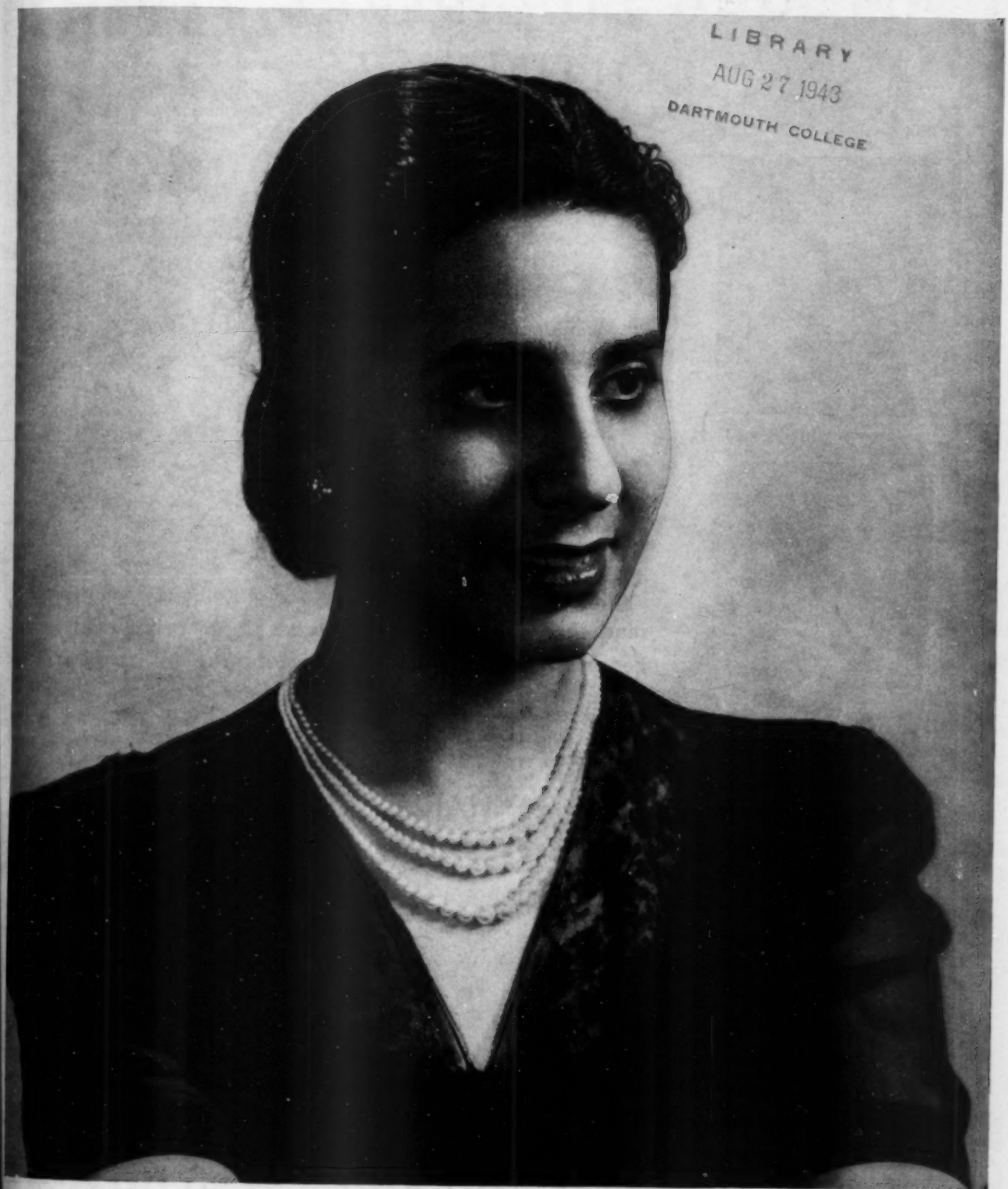

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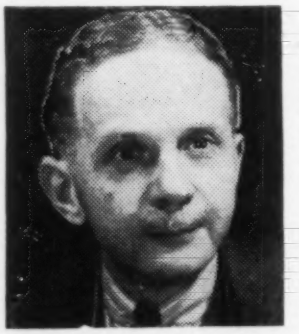

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# College and School News

William Laurence James of the music faculty of **Spelman College** has had his "Cabin Boy Call," a Negro steamboat song using the Negro cry as a form of concert art, published by the G. Schirmer Corporation of New York.

---

**Morehouse College** climaxed the activities of its 76th Founders Day observance with a banquet on February 18 in Morgan Hall, Spelman College, attended by 300. The principal speaker was Dr. Noble Y. Buell, secretary for Negro colleges of the Board of Education, Northern Baptist Convention. A radio program in connection with Founders Day was broadcast over Station WGST.

---

A new chapter of training in the Army Air Forces was opened in March at **Tuskegee Institute** with the arrival of Flying Training Command personnel to head the training program for aviation cadets. The training schedule will be conducted without interruption to the regular college curriculum.

---

The NYA Defense Training Center formerly located in Fayetteville, N. C., with 150 girl students, has been transferred to the **Shaw University** campus. Trainees occupy the Convention Hall, men's dormitory. The university dining hall has been enlarged and redecorated, and one classroom and one laboratory have been renovated and reequipped for instruction in radio communication.

---

The School of Journalism of **Lincoln University (Mo.)** boasts a 200 per cent increase in enrollment since its opening a year ago, according to Mrs. Thelma Berlack Boozer, acting director.

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The curriculum of the 1943 **Atlanta University** Summer School has been worked out carefully with the opportunities and demands of the present war period in mind. There will be specific courses to train people for war jobs. It will operate for two five-week sessions under the direction of Mr. John P. Whitaker: June 7 to July 10, and July 12 to August 14.

---

"The Christian Approach to Racial Tension in the United States" was the discussion topic of 120 delegates to the third conference sponsored by the Fellowship of Religious Workers in Negro Colleges and Universities held at **Bennett College** at the end of February.

---

**West Virginia State College** is one of 280 colleges and universities selected by the Joint Committee of the Army, Navy and the War Manpower Commission to offer basic training of the Army Specialized Training Program to 400 soldier-students who will begin arriving about April 1. Two new courses for potential war workers are Qualifying Mathematics and Personnel Management for which registration began March 1. Machine shop, welding and Signal Corps classes have reached the quota which demands a 24-hour schedule.

---

A Farmers' Greater Production Conference convened on March 6 at **Delaware State College** with agricultural experts from Washington, D. C., and Delaware participating.

---

For the first time in its history, the Hampton Script, student paper at **Hampton Institute**, has a woman editor-in-chief, Miss Marian L. Harris, a junior, from Miami, Fla. She is also president of the Institute's N.A.A.C.P. chapter, a Student Council representative, and a member of the Calliope Literary Society.

---

**Bishop College** has added a modernly equipped health unit in cooperation with the principles of the national defense program. Located on the first floor of Marston Hall, it comprises a suite of three rooms used for examination, consultation and as dental laboratory, providing facilities for complete care and treatment of minor physical maladjustments. It is supervised by Drs. O. L. Bledsoe and G. T. Coleman; a dentist, Dr. O. W. Phillips, and the college nurse, Mrs. M. R. Smith, RN.

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# The Month

**War:** Negro doctors now being commissioned in army in ratio of one to every sixty-four white.

First Negro U. S. Army nurses arrive in Liberia.

Total Negro troops in armed forces now in excess of 450,000; in overseas war zones, 60,000.

No Negroes included in 30,000 nurses now being recruited for armed services.

Newly commissioned second lieutenants include E. T. Perrin, D. E. Reed, W. H. Griffin and J. T. Baker, graduates of 19th Officer Candidate school of armored force at Fort Knox, Kentucky.

**Labor:** Lawrence Cramer, FEPC executive secretary, reports continued employer discrimination against Negroes in war industries.

**Politics:** Lester Walton again in Liberia as envoy extraordinary and minister from United States.

**Education:** Composer Nathaniel Dett appointed musical adviser of USO at Tuskegee, Alabama.

National Negro Health Week to be observed April 4–11, with "Health on the Home Front-Victory on the War Front" as theme.

Newly organized Association for Tolerance in America, under directorship of journalist George S. Schuyler, to campaign against misinformation and prejudice.

National Negro Congress now sponsor of radio broadcast, "All Men are Created Equal," beginning March 21.

**Books:** Articles in current magazines of interest to Negroes include: "Racial Roots of War" by George E. Haynes, *Survey Graphic;* "A Negro Speaks for His People", by J. Saunders Redding, January *Atlantic;* "The Color Line in Wartime", by Roy Wilkins, *Social Questions;* "The Black Cabinet", by Albert W. Hamilton, *Common Sense;* "The Negro Press" by Roi Ottley and "Vacation Daze" by George S. Schuyler in *Common Ground.*

**Arts:** Countee Cullen's translation of choruses from Euripides' "Medea", set to music by Virgil Thomson, performed at concert of Museum of Modern Art in New York, March 2.

Exhibition of paintings by Negro artists of America to be held on Atlanta university campus, April 4 to May 2.

**Color Line:** Negro soldiers at Fort Belvoir, Va., segregated in own jim crow theater to make room for whites.

**Women:** Constance Kyle appointed national director of personnel service of National Maritime union.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pearl Buck pay tribute to Mary McLeod Bethune at ceremonies in Washington, D. C., March 8, in recognition of 38 years service as president of Bethune-Cookman college.

**Achievements:** Joseph S. Mitchell named by Gov. Saltonstall of Massachusetts for position of secretary to Governor's council.

Publicist Roi Ottley recently appointed publicity director of national CIO committee for American and Allied war relief.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois honored with testimonial dinner on 75th birthday under sponsorship of Howard university, Washington, D. C.

Jane White, daughter of Walter White, elected president of Smith college's House of Representatives.

Recipients of Howard university alumni awards are, Zora Neale Hurston, literature; Lt. Col. Campbell C. Johnson, public service; Dr. Orville Lee Ballard, medicine.

**Sports:** Former Olympic sprint champion Eddie Tolan inducted into army, February 14.

Frank Dixon, star New York university mile runner, now a member of armed forces.

**International:** African Egbert Udo Udoma elected president of philosophical society, Trinity college, Dublin, Ireland.

Jamaica, British West Indies, offered universal adult suffrage and bicameral Legislature by British government.

—Constance H. Curtis

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Natural Sciences
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Recreational Leadership
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*Vol. 50, No. 4* *Whole Number 388*


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Miss Yvonne Noah, of New York City, member of one of the hostess committees for the Harlem Recreation Center for men in the armed services, and a member of the Officers Committee for the entertainment of army officers stationed in, or passing through, New York.

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15¢ a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*


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## NEXT MONTH

**Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, curator of the Schomburg Collection of Literature in the New York Public Library, will have an article entitled, "South Africa: A Case for the United Nations."**

**There will be, also, several personality sketches and success stories, together with a new piece of fiction by Chester B. Himes, along with the usual editorial and picture features.**

**Beginning with the June issue, THE CRISIS will carry a monthly feature entitled, "Letters from the Armed Services," being a running story of Negroes in the war, written by the men and women who are actually in uniform. For the best letter each month THE CRISIS will give a prize of a $25 War bond. See announcement on page 104.**

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**George Padmore has been writing for THE CRISIS for a number of years and our readers are familiar with his articles on Africa and Britain and the British West Indies. He still lives in London and manages to get a manuscript through to us despite the U-boats.**

**Samuel A. Rosenberg has done several articles for THE CRISIS on co-operatives. He is on the faculty of Hampton Institute in Virginia.**

# LETTERS *from the* ARMED SERVICES

## Monthly Prize: $25 War Bond

The CRISIS announces a new feature to begin with the June issue: Letters from the Armed Services.

For the best letter each month a $25 War Bond will be given as a prize.

If an account of Negroes in this war is to be written, including all the heartaches, prejudices, triumphs over obstacles, brave deeds, skilled work, and just plain philosophy of the men and women who make up our host in uniform, then it must be written by the Negroes themselves.

Already we have seen that the ordinary publicity on the war has neglected our men. It has glossed over their special hardships. It has ignored—except in rare instances—their deeds.

According to the Office of War Information, there are now about 500,000 Negroes in the armed services. They have a story to tell.

The CRISIS invites them to tell that story to be preserved in a running, permanent record of their adventures, good, bad, and indifferent. There are many complaints. But there are also other stories, more cheerful, more encouraging. We want both sides.

The letters do not have to be in Oxford or Harvard English. They just have to say something worth saying. We are more anxious to know what our men and women see and feel than in whether they use the right word at all times.

The CRISIS will not carry anonymous letters as such. Every letter must have a signature and address, but in printing same, upon request, we will use a pen name. Please tell us whether we may use your name and address. If not, give pen name, *but you must sign your real name and address for our information.*

This feature is open to members of the Army, Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, Red Cross staffs, Army nurses, WAACs, and Merchant Marine.

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# Editorials

### *Meanest Trick*

A LOT of pettiness along the color line has come to light in this war, but it seems to us that an incident reported by an eye-witness in Rocky Mount, N. C., takes the prize. Many troop trains pass through the town. The good white ladies maintain a free refreshment service for soldiers at the railroad station. But the refreshments are for *white* soldiers only.

The day our informant was in the station on his way to Washington, between fifty and one hundred Negro soldiers were overflowing the "colored" waiting room out onto the platform. They had been waiting for hours for a train. The first section of the train arrived, but without any jim crow car "for colored." The dark soldiers were hungry and fretful. Before their eyes gallons of coffee and soft drinks and candy and cigarettes were being handed out to white men in uniform. They could not get any refreshments—in fact were told bluntly that these were for white soldiers—and they could not get out of town, for four sections of the train passed through without any accommodations for Negroes. Nobody gave them any information. Finally, on the fifth section to arrive there was *one* jim crow car, already packed to overflowing. Many of the Negro soldiers could not be jammed into the restricted space and simply had to be AWOL.

There they were, soldiers of democracy, not in Hitlerland, but in the greatest democracy in the world, in their own native land, branded, callously mistreated, humiliated. Looking about them in North Carolina, would it be any wonder if they had little enthusiasm for destroying the Master Race—in Berlin and Tokyo?

### *Government Blesses Separatism*

TO students of the so-called race problem who take the long view, one of the most disheartening aspects of the situation has been the growing policy of the federal government to give endorsement to segregation of the races. Despite its reputation for liberalism, and the opposition aroused by it in the South, the Roosevelt administration has been a faithful disciple of segregation. It has had spokesmen, including the President himself, against *discrimination,* but it has made few pronouncements, and taken few actions against segregation.

Those who might be inclined to believe that the Negro is being contentious in insisting upon the abolition of segregation have only to remember the truism that there is not now, and has never been any such condition as *separate but equal.* The outstanding characteristic of segregation has been inequality. Thus, segregation means discrimination in favor of the majority against the minority.

The recent pronouncement of Herbert Emmerich of the Federal Housing Authority placing the government squarely behind segregated housing units for workers in the Willow Run, Mich., project despite protests from both white and Negro workers and citizens, and despite the non-existence of a local racial housing pattern, is an illustration of the government's blessing to separatism.

Prior to this we had (and still have) the iniquitous regulations of the FHA which prevent the insuring of a mortgage on a home to be bought by Negroes if the home is in what is considered a "white" neighborhood.

Lately we have had revealed the abject testimony of Charles Altemeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, before a House committee in which he promised that Negroes would be completely separated and that no white employee would work under supervision of a Negro, and vice versa.

In many government agencies, although Negroes have been employed in white collar jobs, there are too many instances of segregating them in a group behind filing cases, off in a separate office, in basements, on night shifts, etc.

Segregation, of course, is the basic rule in the armed forces. Millions of American white men in the services, many of whom have had no previous conviction on this matter, are being taught by the military that the right and proper place for Negroes is in a segregated and lowered status. To make matters worse, the military is imposing the pattern of segregation on communities in this country, and upon foreign lands, where such segregation has not been known.

The upshot of the whole matter is certain to be that segregation as a pattern will be fastened more firmly upon the Negro during and after this war, than it was before. There is, unfortunately, a section of Negro opinion which has given aid and comfort to the expansion of segregation as a policy. The government and the military have been quick to seize upon and use this opinion, which has been based principally upon expediency, often referred to as "realism." The point which is seldom considered in all its aspects is that segregation, whether accepted as "realism" by some Negroes, or imposed simply as segregation by whites, is actually discrimination and inequality. It is too much to expect that the Negro, disarmed through discrimination behind the bastions of segregation, will be able to give battle to the forces seeking to confine him forever to a status of permanent inferiority. Thus the fight is now, as it has been always, against segregation. The men and groups within and without the government who sponsor it are enemies of the Negro.

### *Tennessee Repeals Poll Tax*

AT the beginning of the year there were eight states in the nation requiring the payment of a poll tax as a requisite to voting. But Tennessee's legislature, with the support of Governor Prentice Cooper, repealed the tax. This action represents a gain in the fight against this un-democratic practice in the midst of a world war for democracy. It gives heart to our citizens on the home front, adds to the prestige of America in the armed conflicts of the present, and strengthens the hand of our country for the post-war role she must assume. The renewed effort in Congress for a federal bill outlawing the poll tax in the remaining seven states should have the support of all believers in the democratic process.

### *Forced Labor*

IF the Austin-Wadsworth Draft Labor bill is passed, the Negro's fight for equality in employment opportunities will be lost completely. The bill would freeze colored workers into the discriminatory categories they now occupy and block any struggle to attain higher levels. It is significant that this bill has been introduced by two northern Republicans, Senator Austin of Vermont, and Representative Wadsworth of New York. The bill is part and parcel of the coalition between reactionary northern Republicans and southern Democrats seeking to wipe out the gains of organized labor and extend their power over the life of every worker in America. We have said before that every attack upon labor is an attack upon Negroes because we are overwhelmingly laborers, and our grievances are the grievances of labor and underprivileged groups. The Austin-Wadsworth bill should be defeated.

# British Indirect Rule

## By George Padmore

***The author of "How Britain Rules Africa" goes here into an illuminating discussion of a question much in the minds of those who are thinking of colonies in the post-war world***

SINCE the ignominious collapse of British Imperialism in the Far East, there has been considerable American criticism of Britain's colonial administration in Asia and Africa. Apart from purely military considerations, it is generally agreed that the reason why Britain was unable to mobilize the enthusiastic support of the native populations in Malaya, Singapore and Burma, was because her administration had no roots among the indigenous races. It could not be otherwise, for the traditional method of governing primitive communities through local tribal and semi-feudal authorities—officially known as Indirect Rule—only serves to arrest the development of the democratic aspirations of the nationalist and labor movements in the colonial empire. Consequently, when Britain's imperialistic rival, Japan, struck, the overwhelming majority of the Asiatics demonstrated their resentment against the status quo by assuming an apathetic attitude, while minority groups joined the invaders against their British overlords.

What is this system of Indirect Rule? How did it originate and how does it function?

The father of Indirect Rule was Sir Frederick, now Lord Lugard, one of the foremost exponents of the "White Man's Burden," and for years the representative of His Majesty's Government on the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Lugard, like Cecil Rhodes, was largely responsible for adding extensive areas in East and West Africa to the Empire. He justified these annexations on the ground of economic necessity. "As long as our policy is one of trade, we are compelled to seek markets, for old ones are being closed to us by hostile tariffs, and our great dependencies, which formerly were consumers of our goods, are now becoming our commercial rivals. It is inherent in a great colonial and commercial empire like ours that they go forward or backward. . . . We are accountable to posterity that opportunities which now present themselves of extending the sphere of our industrial enterprise are not neglected, for the opportunities now offered will never recur again." (*The Rise of Our East African Empire*, p. 585.)

Not surprisingly, Lugard chose to go forward, and proceeded to conquer the country of Uganda in 1890, and Northern Nigeria in 1900. It was in these countries that the system of Indirect Rule, or Native Administration, was first innovated.

### Puppet Governments in Nigeria

In Northern Nigeria, the British found the Muslim populations living under highly developed feudal social institutions. After breaking the military power of the Fulani emirates, Lugard set up puppet governments by utilizing the services of certain of the Sultans, Emirs and Chiefs. These native rulers now stand in the same relationship to the British Raj as the various Quisling regimes in Europe to the Nazi overlord.

Lugard was no visionary humbug. He did not enlist in the service of the East Africa Chartered Company in order to spread Christianity and western civilization among the blacks, but to promote British trade and to secure those markets and raw materials which he recognized as being so vital to the British imperialist structure.

"The tropics," he wrote, "produce in abundance a class of raw materials and foodstuffs which cannot be grown in the temperate zone and which are so vital to the needs of civilized men that they have in very truth become essential to civilization. It was the realization of this fact, (as I have said) which led the nations of Europe to compete for control of the African tropics." (*The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, p. 43.)

In 1885, the Imperial Government granted a charter to the Royal Niger Company—an organization of merchant adventurers—to open up and exploit the Niger regions of West Africa. The company surrendered its charter in 1900, whereupon the Foreign Office despatched the then Colonel Lugard to take over control and extend British power into the hinterland, so as to prevent the French and Germans from annexing the northern parts of Nigeria, upon which they had been gradually encroaching. Upon his arrival, Lugard's first task was to organize a native army, which he recruited chiefly from the indigenous Hausa, who hated their Fulani rulers, alien conquerors from North

*British Combine*

***South African troops serving in the English colonial army pose with their mascot, an eleven months old lioness. These men are a part of the labor battalions engaged in building advanced landing fields in the Western Desert.***

Africa. With this native force under British officers and N.C.O.'s Lugard marched northward, and by 1903 had completed the conquest of the Mohammedan sultanates of Kano and Sokoto.

### Problem of Administrative Forms

Having achieved his military objective, Lugard was faced with the immediate problem of establishing some form of administration which would efficiently maintain "law and order" over a population of some ten million natives scattered over a vast area. The difficulties were increased by the fact that the country was still for from being pacified. Many tribes were hostile, and guerilla bands were in control of areas beyond the British garrisons.

The effects of the climate were felt by whites more then than now, when hygienic methods and prophylactic measures ensure against the worst results. Few Europeans in the early part of the century could be induced to settle in West Africa, which bore the title of the "White Man's Grave." Furthermore, the Home Government was just then deeply involved in the Boer War. The War Office was in no position to send the reinforcements which would enable Lugard to complete his military occupation, while the Treasury was against spending more money on African adventures. It was in these circumstances that Indirect Rule came into being. Lugard was obliged to improvise with the resources at his disposal, in the hope that things would turn out well.

Instead of banishing the Sultans and other chiefs who had surrendered, which was the usual British custom, "Lugard called all the leading men in each chieftainship together and gave a letter of appointment to their new ruler, promising to respect their religion and customs as far as humanity allowed; but he made it clear that the British were now over all." (Margery Perham: *Africans and British Rule,* p. 41).

Indirect Rule was soon discovered by the British officials in Nigeria to be a cheap method of governing huge territories peopled by primitive races. The experiences of these early political officers were collected and later rationalized into a theory—a new philosophy of colonial government. Books have been written extolling the benefits which Indirect Rule has conferred upon the Africans. One of the most enthusiastic theoreticians and prolific writers on the subject is Lord Lugard's niece, Miss Margery Perham, lecturer on Native Administration at Oxford. Miss Perham's views have been expounded at some length in her book, *Native Administration in Nigeria,* which has become a sort of official guide book for British public school and university graduates appointed by the Colonial Office to official posts in Africa and Asiatic colonial territories like Malaya and the Straits Settlements. For purposes of study, it is for them an obligatory handbook.

*British Combine*

*One of the African chiefs allowed by the British to remain in office. He is Sir Osei Agyeman Premph II, K.B.E., Paramount Chief of Ashanti, in full ceremonial dress*

Indirect Rule, or Native Administration, then, originated in historical circumstances at the beginning of the century, when Northern Nigeria was being opened up to British trade and commerce. Lugard's improvisations were dictated by "Hobson's choice." Since then, many changes and modifications have been made. Today, Indirect Rule no longer resembles the crude makeshift affair it was in those early pioneering days. As "peace and order" were established throughout the country, Lugard (who became the first Governor-General) and his successors, especially Sir Donald Cameron, evolved the present elaborate governmental machinery of native administration, which is auxiliary to the central government.

What the conquerors have done is simply to superimpose a diffuse native bureaucracy upon the old feudal and tribal systems. Prior to the coming of the British, the chiefs (except in the northern emirates ruled by the powerful Moslem autocrats) derived their authority from the indigenous natives, through elders and counsellors. Now all this has been changed. The chiefs are no longer subject to the democratic control of their people, for under the system of Indirect Rule, "a native authority or

native administration derives its powers direct from the Government; its powers are limited by Government and the native administration becomes an integral part of the machinery of government." In plain language, the chiefs have become merely instruments of the central government. They can be dismissed by the Governor under the Appointment and Deposition of Chief's Ordinance should they fail to carry out his orders.

Nevertheless, the advocates and champions of Indirect Rule seek to justify the system on the ground that it educates the Africans in self-government. "Native administration," says Sir Donald Cameron, "is designed to adapt for the purpose of local government the tribal institutions which the native peoples have evolved for themselves, so that the latter may develop in a constitutional manner from their own past, guided and restrained by the traditions or sanctions which they had inherited, moulded or modified as they may be on the advice of British officers and by the general control of those officers."

This is a vast deception. People denied education and the most elementary democratic rights and civil liberties are in no position to develop self-government. How is it possible for people terrorized by a native despot backed by British authority to learn the art of self-government?

### Functions of Native Administration

The principal functions of native administration are:

1. to maintain "law and order";
2. to administer "justice";
3. to administer certain branches of local government;
4. to collect taxes;
5. to supply forced labor.

In Nigeria and other territories where Indirect Rule operates, the country has been divided into tribal administrative units. Each of these native administrations is presided over by a paramount chief assisted by a Council, the composition of which must be approved by the British Government. The connecting links between the various native administrations and the British Government are European officials known as Residents, Provincial and District Commissioners. They act as "advisors" to the chiefs and superintend the fulfilment of the duties assigned to the native administrations by the Governor, the local representative of the Colonial Office.

Within many of these tribal political units there exist ethnic enclaves comprising tribal minorities. These groups in many cases have objected to being placed under the jurisdiction of extra-tribal chiefs, and the British authorities have solved this problem by placing their administration under the direct control of British officials.

Branches of local government entrusted to the native administration are those concerned with the maintenance of roads, the upkeep of public buildings, essential services, and the like. Its most important functions, however, are the collection of taxes and the supply of forced labor. For as Lady Simon points out in her book, *Slavery*, "Almost every colonizing Government today is exacting forced labor for what it calls 'public works.' . . . The tendency is to regard almost any kind of Government service as of general public benefit. Forced labour on roads, railways, bridges, as carriers, paddlers and hunters—these and kindred obligations make up an ever-increasing burden upon the millions of coloured peoples in the territories of tropical Africa and elsewhere. . . .

"The burden which modern Governments impose on the natives is indeed enormously heavier than that imposed by the chiefs in former times. . . . The right to exact this form of labour, which places in the hands of administrators everywhere an easy, if doubtful, method of exacting cheap labour for Government works, is the cause today of a great antipathy by the natives towards 'Government,' which is ceasing to figure in the eyes of the inhabitants as an institution for the administration of justice and the maintenance of public order, and is coming to be regarded simply as a piece of powerful machinery for exacting toil." (*Slavery*, pp. 177–179)

### Systematic Abuses

As to taxes, these supply one of the main sources of the revenue of the central government. In all African colonies the natives pay some form of hut, poll, or dog tax, often all three. The amounts vary from 4s. to 30s. The Governor, as head of the Central Government, decides upon the amount of tax to be paid and instructs the Provincial and District Commissioners as to the amount to be collected from each native administration. The Commissioners summon the chiefs and their councils to explain the

(*Continued on page* 120)

British Combine

*Members of the Kunasi, Ashanti home guard, pass in review before their Paramount Chief, who stands at the extreme right in military dress*

[1] Capt. J. A. McKenzie, M.C. Address to the Federal Council of the Western Provinces of Nigeria. *Reported in The West African Review* (London), May, 1941.

# Democracy—American Style

## By Samuel A. Rosenberg

***A report on the successes and problems of a cooperative group located in Hampton, Va., at Aberdeen Gardens***

IN THE past five years there has been more activity in the co-operative movement among Negroes than ever before and great strides have been made in the United States. Church groups, lodges, schools and colleges, farm groups, government workers, the Federal government, educational funds, the Negro press, the cooperative league, consumers, and public minded individuals have taken part in promoting cooperatives.

Negroes have gone in to cooperatives as a means of helping themselves, for in them is a possible solution of their economic plight. Discrimination against Negroes, even in the South is not a part of the policy of cooperatives, although there are exceptions here and there.

The dynamics of the cooperative movement must come from the people who need it most—the poor. This has been effectively demonstrated by the Negroes of the southern states, where, in the past few years, cooperatives of various kinds have been organized and operated. For example, in Virginia there are Negro owned cooperatives in Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Emporia, Gloucester, Hampton and Smithfield. One of the most interesting associations is located at Aberdeen Gardens in Hampton.

Through the vision of a group of men consolidated by Hampton institute, and through effective hard work and application, Aberdeen Gardens came into being. This community of 158 homes is located between Hampton and Newport News in eastern Virginia. Built under the direction of the Resettlement Division and later transferred to the Farm Security Administration, Aberdeen Gardens is making great strides toward better living amid wholesome surroundings.

One problem which faced the original group of men who had the foresight to visualize an all Negro community was that of providing the future residents with a convenient place to do their marketing. This problem, and it was a very important one, was given to a group of potential residents to solve. Aberdeen was merely a project on paper when these men started working on this problem. After many meetings and discussions over the advantages and disadvantages of a chain store unit and an individually owned store, this group, consisting of a tailor, a bricklayer, a watchman and a railroad employee, together with the manager of the project, conceived the idea of having a store where the customers could also be the owners. If any profits were made from the customers, these same customers would get these profits and could do what they wanted with them. As a result, the co-op came into being and this group of men became the charter members of the association.

Meetings were held weekly and sometimes twice a week to discuss plans for the co-op. All this took place even before most of the men thought that the housing project would be completed. Faith in the government and in the potential residents of Aberdeen was a strong factor in the continuation of their plans.

### Co-op Beginnings

Finally Aberdeen Gardens was completed and a few residents moved into their new brick homes which had been built by Uncle Sam, whose main purpose was to raise the standards of housing conditions. Soon the number of families increased to fifty and the co-operators felt that these families could conveniently purchase their groceries from a store which might be set up temporarily at Aberdeen. A fine store building had been contemplated but this was not part of the government's building plans. Here was a difficult situation since there was no suitable building, and a store was necessary.

The cooperators had no money to build a store. There was just one possibility—to convert the field office which was a temporary building that had been used during the construction program. This possibility became a reality when one of the cooperators began remodeling and repairing the shack. Others joined in the work and a quite presentable store building resulted.

A charter for the co-op was secured from the state of Virginia by the board of directors on June 2, 1937 and shares were offered for sale at $5 each. A loan was secured through the Farm Security Administration, of which $2,000 in cash was actually used, and the co-op store opened for business on Nov. 17, 1938. A refrigerator was obtained from the government, other necessary equipment was purchased and a supply of groceries was received. Immediately the response of the community was good, with sales averaging about $5.00 a week for each family.

Membership in this association includes those who live at Aberdeen and also those living elsewhere whose incomes are low and who are engaged in agricultural pursuits.

On Dec. 31, 1938, $135.00 was received from the sale of shares and the store showed a net profit of $28.13—a small beginning towards the goal of economic advancement, by democratic means. Sales for a month and a half were $1540.98.

The operations for 1939 continued very successfully and a five per cent dividend on purchases made by members was declared and paid on March 5 to forty-nine stockholders. The profit that year was $761.37 and sales were $16,988.29. The board made various attempts to get a new store built but due to many factors, such as high building costs, a new building is still in the planning stage.

Sales during 1940 were $24,917.08, an increase of $8,000 over 1939, profits were $1,251.03, and another five per cent dividend was declared and paid. In 1941, the inside of the store was changed to a semi-self service with service still the dominant feature.

During 1941, the manager of the store died and for a long time the co-op had managerial trouble. The results had a bad effect on the success of the organization and the attitude of the people in the community. Profits of the previous years changed to losses and managerial difficulties have proven to be a real stumbling block in the cooperative setup and at the present time there is a real need for well trained co-op store managers.

### Educational Programs Instituted

A present indication of increased interest in the co-operative can be seen in the education committee. From the beginning of the co-operative until 1942,

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*Some of the members of the Aberdeen Gardens co-op. Left to right: I. F. Long, co-op director, J. R. Picott, Jr., Frank E. Pender, Walter H. Haynes, T. P. Lane, E. W. McIntosh and William R. Walker, Jr.*

interest in the organization lagged because there was no definite educational program and also because the women were not sufficiently participating. When the opportunity was given the women, they went ahead by leaps and bounds. For the first time in Aberdeen, educational meetings are being held in various homes, an educational class has been organized, demonstrations have been put over and various food products have been tested. This committee was responsible for a fair which was held at the Aberdeen Community Center which was one of the most successful ever held on the project. At the fair there were exhibits of home canning, handicrafts, poultry, woodworking, weaving and art. Everybody at Aberdeen attended as well as many people from Hampton and Newport News.

The educational committee is making a house to house campaign to acquaint all of the people with the advantages of the co-operative. The members know co-operatives and the Rochdale principles and they want others to secure the advantages that co-operatives have to offer.

The future is brightening for the Aberdeen Association. Under the leadership of the president, Mr. Tarsus D. Lane, progress is being made. At present the co-op is selling groceries, meats, fruits, vegetables, gasoline and drinks. This organization has been the forerunner of two other co-operative groups. One is the school co-operative which is a grade school organization and the other is a chicken raising co-operative project which has resulted in over 200% increase in the number of families raising chickens at Aberdeen Gardens.

The chicken raising co-operative has been in operation for two years and its record for that period has been very good. The idea of a poultry co-operative at Aberdeen sprouted in the community for the need for eggs and chickens was apparent. Each home had a small chicken house in the backyard but very few householders had any chickens. Many who had tried to raise chickens from eggs or day-old chicks had experienced bad results, due to lack of knowledge and experience.

In talking about the possibilities of raising chickens cooperatively, the people felt that the possibilities of success were good and plans to go ahead on the idea were developed. The idea was to raise chickens cooperatively from day-old chicks to eight or ten weeks old.

### Chicken Raising Cooperatively

In November, 1940, a group of fifteen men, most of whom were shipyard workers, gathered to form a cooperative organization. Many of these people had no chickens and had had very little experience in raising them. The possibilities of losses through baby chick mortality were thrashed out and finally, everybody agreed to share proportionately both in the losses and in the gains.

The purpose of this organization can be best described by quoting from the constitution. "The purpose of this Society shall be to carry on education for better community living; promotion of economic and cultural welfare of its members through cooperation; promotion of such group activities that would teach its members how to work and live effectively together; to provide education, recreation and economic services on a non-profit basis by raising baby chicks cooperatively through a dangerous period of eight to ten weeks at a minimum cost as shown on the prorated chart attached; to encourage the production of more poultry and poultry produce on Aberdeen Gardens Homestead Project; to serve as a medium for disposal of surplus poultry produce; and to perform such cooperative services pertaining to agricultural activities that would contribute to the general welfare of its members as determined by its Board of Directors."

Each participating member agreed to purchase cooperatively baby chicks in one or more allotments of twenty-five. The cost of each allotment for feed, fuel, medicinal and miscellaneous expenses for eight weeks, would be $3.20 (for twenty-five chickens), and for ten weeks the cost would be $4.20. Each member paid for his baby chicks before they were ordered and the payment for feed was made in advance each two weeks. The group decided that they would get certified chicks so as to insure a good, healthy lot of chickens.

The first obstacle was proper supervision of such an undertaking. The right person was at hand in the person of Mr. Ernest W. Goodrum, who was a graduate of the department of agriculture at Hampton institute and is the farm manager on the project. Thus, the first and perhaps greatest obstacle was overcome. The next difficulty was that of obtaining proper housing without going into much expense. After combing the neighborhood, a "laying house," twenty feet by twenty feet was located which would suit the purpose desired. This shed had been used as a garage while the Aberdeen Project had been under construction. With some repairs and renovations the shed was turned into two 10 by 20 brooding rooms.

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# First Ladies of Colored America—No. 8

MISS MARY E. BRANCH, president of Tillotson college, Austin, Texas, was born in Farmville, Va., and educated at Virginia State college. She furthered her education at the University of Chicago, where she received both the Ph.B. and M.A. degrees. Howard university awarded her the L.L.D. degree and Virginia State college the Ped.D.

In her career as an educator Miss Branch has served in a number of positions: professor of English at Va. State college; teacher of English and social studies at Sumner Jr. college, Kansas City, Kansas, and dean of women at Vashon High School, St. Louis, Mo. The presidency of Tillotson college has been held by Miss Branch since 1930

*MISS OLIVE AUGUSTA RAINEY is the daughter of the late Joseph H. Rainey, first Negro Representative to the United States Congress (1870–1879), from the first congressional district of South Carolina. She received her education at Hayden Hall, Windsor, Conn.; Wellesley college and Tapley Normal Training school, from which she was graduated with highest honors. For more than 35 years Miss Rainey was a teacher in the schools of Springfield, Mass. After her retirement she served as advisor to the local NAACP youth council and is at present a member of the board of directors of the Dunbar Community League, Inc., of Springfield*

*MRS. FANNIE B. PECK was born in Kansas City, Missouri and is the wife of Rev. William H. Peck. In Detroit, in 1930, she formed the Detroit Housewives' League, an organization of 10,000, to direct spending power and create jobs. Since 1933 she has served as president of the National Negro Housewives' League, an auxiliary of the National Negro Business League. Mrs. Peck sponsored the organization of a credit union of the Consumer-Cooperative Organization, in 1936, in the Bethel AME church in Detroit. Beginning with a capital of $7.00 this group now has assets of over $9,000 and has made loans totaling $25,000. Mrs. Peck is at present treasurer of the credit union, president of Ruth Woman's Mite Missionary Society, treasurer of the Michigan Conference Branch Woman's Mite Missionary Society, an office she has held for fourteen years, and a teacher in the Sunday school of her church*

*MRS. OLIVIA STEWART BRISKER, a native of Shreveport, Louisiana, was educated in the schools of Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Mrs. Brisker owns the Community Service Station, the Hub City Undertaking company and the Hub City drug store in Alexandria, Louisiana. One of the outstanding business women of the south, she now devotes her time solely to the management of the drug company, which is noted for its great volume of business and is one of the oldest Negro drug companies in the south and the only Negro drug store in central Louisiana. It has, under Mrs. Brisker's management for the past three years, done a larger volume of business than ever before. Widow of the late Dr. B. W. Stewart and mother of one daughter, Dorothy Mae Stewart, she recently married Emanuel Brisker, of Seattle, Washington*

# Merchant Seamen Relax in London

British Combine

*Merchant seamen on leave enjoy themselves with other guests at the Merchant Navy Club in London. Unlike the policies followed in the setting up of canteens for men in the armed forces, the merchant marine, both here and in England, seems to be making an effort to have no traffic with discrimination. The United Seamen's Service, recently organized American group, has declared against racial discrimination in canteens and rest homes to be established in and near American ports*

# Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

**Hastie to Get Spingarn Award:** William H. Hastie will receive the Spingarn medal for 1942, the NAACP Spingarn Award Committee has announced. The award, of which Hastie will be the twenty-eighth winner, was instituted in 1914 by the late J. E. Spingarn, then chairman of the NAACP board. It is a gold medal given annually to the American Negro who has made the highest and noblest achievement during the preceding year or years.

Announcing the award, the committee said:

"William Henry Hastie is selected as the Twenty-eighth Spingarn Medalist for his distinguished career as jurist and as uncompromising champion of equal justice. Though young in years his record of achievement is notable measured by any standard, however absolute or high.

"His scholastic career as honor graduate from Amherst College and as Doctor of Juridical Science from the Harvard Law School has been continued in quality of service in several capacities. His was a distinguished career as Assistant Solicitor of the Department of the Interior. He made a brilliant record as the first Negro to serve as Judge of a United States District Court, serving in the Virgin Islands. He established a high standard of scholarship and of service to mankind for the students during his period as Dean of the Law School of Howard University. As Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War he refused to temporize with racial bigotry, segregation or discrimination. Men of lesser character and of greater selfishness would have closed their eyes to prejudice in order to maintain themselves in a remunerative position. But Judge Hastie refused to do this, resigning in protest against perpetuation of practices which more aptly would have characterized the racial ideology of a dictatorship than of a democracy. His every act, and particularly his protest against racial bigotry in an army fighting for the preservation of the democratic processes, has established a standard of character and conduct which the Spingarn Medal Committee is honored to recognize by the selection of Judge Hastie as Twenty-eighth Spingarn Medalist."

**Fight Detroit Housing Ban:** The refusal of Herbert Emmerich, Federal Public Housing Administrator, to rescind the ban against Negroes at Willow Lodge housing project, Ypsilanti, Michigan, brought from 20 leading Detroit citizens a telegram to President Roosevelt asking that he review and correct Emmerich's decision.

*Shirley Graham, recently appointed assistant field secretary of the NAACP.*

The telegram was sent after a conference with Emmerich at which Gloster Current, Detroit branch executive secretary, Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington bureau and Louis Martin of the Michigan *Chronicle* were chief spokesmen.

The conference lasted two hours and Emmerich, who had stated that housing in defense areas would follow established community patterns, refused to lift the ban against Negro applicants. This in spite of the fact that these same Negro applicants worked side by side with white workers in nearby war production centers and that there were no occupancy patterns in this area because before the establishment of the plant and housing project it was unoccupied. Mixed occupancy has been unanimously approved by whites in this area. The next move in the housing fight is up to John Blanford, chief of the National Housing Administration.

**Win Teachers' Salary Suit:** Salaries equal to those paid to white teachers in Dallas, Texas, were won for Negro teachers in a consent decree in the United States District Court, February 25. Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel and W. G. Durham, Sherman, Texas, represented the teachers.

The case, which was the first of its kind in Texas, was filed in December on behalf of Thelma E. Page, Dallas teacher, in her own interest as well as that of all other Negro teachers. The case was for an injunction restraining the school board of Dallas from discriminating against Negroes. The terms of the decree provide that all discrimination be removed and all salaries equalized by not later than September, 1945 and further that Negro teachers in Dallas be paid an incrcease of 15% of the differential in salaries immediately, starting March 1. In September they are to be granted a further increase of 25% with an additional increase of 30% the following year and full equalization not later than 1945.

**USES Refuses Skilled Workers:** Refusal of the United States Employment Service office in Fort Worth, Texas, to permit the registration of two Negro applicants for skilled employment was protested, February 26, to the War Manpower Commission placement bureau in Washington, D. C., by the NAACP.

Both applicants, Mrs. Demaris V. Alston and J. Henry Alston, are Ft. Worth school teachers. Mr. Alston, a World war veteran who holds a master of arts degree, charges that he was required to use a jim crow side entrance at the employment office and was told that the only jobs open for Negroes were common labor on railroad or construction projects.

Mrs. Alston is a mathematics teacher and states that she was told at the USES that Negroes were not considered for skilled or technical jobs. Need for such workers has been widely advertised at the Consolidated, the Globe, and the North American aircraft companies which have large plants in and near Ft. Worth. Thousands of workers are employed in these plants but Negroes are used only in menial and unskilled categories.

**Lucom Dismissal Upheld:** C. Wilson Lucom, administrative assistant in the compliance division of the War Production Board, Washington, D. C., who advocated the hiring of Negro clerks, was discharged and his dismissal upheld by the Appeals Review Com-

mittee of the WPB. Lucom was represented by Charles Houston, NAACP legal committee member.

At the hearing, February 27, Lucom stated that he had ordered the hiring of Negro clerks but that the order was cancelled at the direction of W. John Logan, director of the compliance division. Lucom further stated that he went to Logan's office and was told by Logan, who pointed to a copy of Executive Order 8802, "I don't care if Franklin D. Roosevelt said to love them. I don't want them in this division. Cancel the order." Logan denied having made this statement.

The board ruled that inasmuch as statements by both parties were both affirmed and denied by each other and since there was neither a third party present nor sufficiently strong circumstantial evidence submitted to warrant acceptance of either man's statements, it would be better for the service that Lucom be dismissed.

**Committee Planned for Peace Aims:** The NAACP board of directors has authorized the appointment of a small committee to work upon the selection and recommendation of personnel for a committee which will place before the Peace Conference the case of the Negro and other colored peoples of the world. Those authorized to work on the selection of the Peace Conference committee include: Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman; Arthur B. Spingarn, Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, William H. Hastie and Walter White.

**Employment Jim Crow Promised:** The promise of A. J. Altemeyer, Social Security Board chairman, that he "did not intend to approve a plan that will result in the supervision of the white personnel by colored or will result in white persons being required or being asked to be interviewed by colored persons", was cited recently by the NAACP as another indication of the South's increasing dictatorship of Federal policies.

Altemeyer made his salute to jim crow at a recent House hearing in answer to a demand by Georgia's congressman Malcolm C. Tarver.

A verbatim account of the conversation between Tarver and Altemeyer follows:

Mr. Tarver: What about mixing them (white and colored) all up in the same work room?

Mr. Altemeyer: So far as that is concerned, I will give you the assurance I gave you before that we will certainly work that out in accordance with the space limitations so that there will be no greater offense to social sensibilities than exist at the present time.

Mr. Tarver: What about this business of having colored stenographers called to attend to the stenographic needs of white employees and conversely white stenographers being called to attend to the stenographic needs of colored employees?

Mr. Altemeyer: We will not have that done. Now, you are asking two questions. I do not think there has ever been any question raised, Mr. Jones can correct me, on colored people serving the need of white persons or furnishing stenographic assistance. I think you mean particularly the other situation.

Mr. Tarver: I think both are objectionable.

Mr. Altemeyer: If there is objection we will eliminate both.

**Housing Needed For Soldiers' Families:** Critical housing conditions for Negro families in Chicago, Illinois, were brought to the attention of the Chicago area rent director, the Metropolitan Housing Council and the President of the United States early in March by the housing committee of the Chicago branch of the NAACP.

"Unless some specific plans are made immediately to assure decent shelter for the children of drafted Negro fathers", the NAACP communication warned, "untold hardships will be suffered."

"It is expected that before long the young fathers of these families will be sent into battle, many of them never to return. These men will make the supreme sacrifice to preserve the properties that the landlords now consider too good for the children of these fighting men of our country."

**Safety Pledged in Burrows' Extradition:** Guarantee of the safeguard of George A. Burrows, a cook who fled Mississippi after shooting his way out of a group intent upon his lynching, was secured March 10 by Thurgood Marshall and Donald Crichton, counsel for the NAACP. An appeal was made by the NAACP to Governor Dewey to act against the extradition of Burrows. Governor Dewey announced that Burrows would be returned to his home state with the personal pledge of Governor Johnson of Mississippi that he would have the "full protection of the law". Since a warrant had been sworn out for Burrows' arrest the laws of New York State do not allow a refusal of extradition.

Burrows' safety was assured first verbally by Governor Johnson, and later by telegram. He was also to be returned to Gulfport, Mississippi by train rather than in the automobile of the Mississippi sheriff who came to New York for him.

*Pancas of the Bridgeport-Stratford branch pose at the conclusion of a victory banquet held to celebrate the conclusion of a successful membership campaign. Left to right: Henry McAden, Frank Roderick, Mrs. Olivia Russell, Mrs. Louise Russell, Albert Cannady, Daniel Jennett, Mary H. Thornton, John W. Lancaster, Jr., branch president, and Irving Mitchell*

As a result of routine police investigation Burrows was questioned and found by New York police not to be in possession of a draft card. Further questioning revealed that in 1942 he had been employed as a cook in the Edgewater hotel, Gulfport. It was learned that in April, 1942, Burrows had been ordered, at the point of a pistol, into the basement where he was brutally beaten by five white men. During the beating the men repeatedly told him that he would be lynched as soon as it was dark. He says that he was not informed at the time of the reason for the beating or the threat of lynching, but in his fear and desperation to escape the lynching he fired a pistol and it is alleged that he wounded two of his would-be lynchers. Burrows ran into the woods where he hid for four days, during which time the Mississippi authorities hunted him with blood hounds and posse. Later Burrows escaped to Cuba and thence to New York.

The NAACP announced that it is now in the process of obtaining competent counsel to defend Burrows when he reaches Gulfport.

**Soldiers Clean Toilets:** Negro soldiers are required to rise an hour earlier than white soldiers at Camp Wheeler, Georgia. The Washington bureau of the NAACP demanded, February 26, of Secretary of War Stimson the reasons for this difference.

Reveille is sounded at 5:30 A. M. for colored soldiers and upon rising they clean their own barracks and mess halls, after which they are required to clean the toilets used by white soldiers. White soldiers at Camp Wheeler rise at 6:30 A. M.

The NAACP cited the treatment accorded Negroes assigned to the medical detachment as being especially objectionable and declared in the letter to Stimson: "relegation of Negro soldiers by the United States Army to the status of menials gives democracy an empty sound to those who are called upon to sacrifice, fight and die for it".

**Move to Kill Merit System:** The NAACP warned against a bill known as S. 575, introduced by Senator McKellar of Tennessee. The bill makes civil service worthless and supports the southern revolt against the administration.

The effect of the bill's passage is the authorization of the southern senators to block confirmation of the employment of any person in any job paying over $4,500 a year, as of June 30, 1943. Such jobs could be held only after a political review of members of the senate from the states concerned.

Voters throughout the country have been urged to call, telegraph or write and to mobilize intelligent opinion locally through their affiliations and through the press, for this bill will have sufficient support to pass both houses unless real pressure is brought to bear.

**Labor Conscription Bill Questioned:** Concern for the implications and possible harmful use of the Austin-Wadsworth bill to "provide for the successful prosecution of the war through a system of civilian selective war service", was expressed early in March by the NAACP.

The association stated that is is making an exhaustive study of the bill in order to point out its potential dangers. First among probable objections to such legislation is the existence of unused Negro labor that could be mobilized through volunteer methods but is not utilized because of traditional prejudices. The NAACP stated also that there is considerable doubt as to the establishment of sufficient safeguards to protect citizens under such legislation against arbitrary action by local boards. It is likely too that compulsory service legislation before the exhaustion of voluntary method violates the 13th amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits involuntary servitude.

In its present state the Austin-Wadsworth bill contains no safeguards which require the employer to insure the employee of the establishment of safety measures in plants or of the extension of other established rights to workers. The Washington bureau has held conferences with a number of senators regarding introduction of amendments that will prohibit racial and other discriminations.

*Hattie Pearl, one year old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Hilliard of Prairie View College, Texas*

In favor of the present Austin-Wadsworth bill, known as S. 666, are the War Department, the American Legion, National Association of Manufacturers, American Farm Bureau and United States Chamber of Commerce. Opposing S. 666 are the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Farmers Union and the NAACP.

## Branch News

**California:** The Sacramento branch, in cooperation with the Church Council of Sacramento, sponsored the annual "Race Relations Sunday" service, February 14. The legal redress and labor and industry committees reported discriminatory practices by one of the state departments in the hiring of Negroes to the California personnel board.

**Connecticut:** Alfred Baker Lewis, national board member and author was guest speaker at the regular meeting of the Norwalk branch, February 24. The branch reported 100 new members, bringing the total to 200.

**Delaware:** The March 7 meeting of the Wilmington branch had as its discussion topic, "The Political Situation in Delaware." Rev. Seymour H. Baker presided.

**Florida:** Walter White, executive secretary, was the speaker at the March 1 meeting of the Jacksonville branch.

**Georgia:** The membership drive of the Cairo branch opens early in April with a goal set at 500. Newly elected officers of the branch include: T. J. Jones, president; Mrs. S. E. Crumity, secretary; Mrs. Louise Corker, assistant secretary and news reporter.

The Savannah branch held its monthly meeting February 28 at which time Walter White gave the main address.

**Kansas:** A victory mass meeting was held by the Leavenworth branch, February 26, under the leadership of Rev. H. Williamson, president of the branch.

**Massachusetts:** An inter-racial service was presented by the Boston branch, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, February 12. Walter White, executive secretary, delivered the main address, stating that the solution of the race problem must be solved during, not after, the war.

**Michigan:** The labor committee of the Detroit branch held a parade and mass meeting, March 28, to focus attention on the large numbers of Negro women who are available for employment in war plants.

**Missouri:** The Jefferson City branch, at its meeting February 15, passed a resolution calling for the appointment of Negroes to the local fire department and park and education boards.

**New Jersey:** A lecture meeting was sponsored by the educational committee of the Camden branch, February 28, as the first in a series of such programs. Dr.

Harold F. Wilson, professor of history at the Glassboro Teachers college made the main address. At the March 28 lecture meeting of the branch Walter White was the speaker.

Prentice Thomas, assistant special counsel, spoke at the meeting of the Plainfield branch, February 21, on the use of the ballot as a weapon for pressure groups. Officers of the branch elected for the current year are: Harriet O. Williams, president; William Burke, vice-president; Odessa Quarterman, secretary, and Charles Brown, treasurer. Mr. Thomas was also the speaker at the meeting of the Madison branch, held in Morristown, March 14, marking the opening of the membership drive.

**New York:** The Elmira branch held its monthly meeting, February 28, with Rev. John T. Frazer as guest speaker. It was voted at the meeting to request the Elmira Housing Authority to erect dwelling units for poorly housed members of the community before proceeding with plans to build projects for prospective residents of the city. The proposal was presented to the city council, March 8.

A celebration of National Brotherhood and National Negro History Week was sponsored by the Troy branch, February 28. Lucille Wheeler, executive secretary of the local YWCA, and Mrs. J. W. Findley were the guest speakers. "Highlights of Negro History" was the subject of Mrs. Findley's address.

**Ohio:** The membership campaign of the Columbus branch was opened at a meeting held March 21, with Walter White, executive secretary speaking.

**Pennsylvania:** Jesse Thompson, vice president of the Erie branch, spoke at the meeting, March 4, on the accomplishments and history of the NAACP. A panel discussion on topics affecting the Negro's economic and social status during and after the war was also included in the meeting.

**Washington:** The Tacoma branch held its annual Lincoln-Douglass meeting, February 12. Rev. E. B. Wilson, newly-elected president of the branch, Chaplain Middleton of McChord Field and Ray Vaughn, director of USO No. 2, were the speakers.

# Democracy

*(Continued from page 110)*

It took some money to repair and renovate the laying house. Each member agreed to pay $1.00 as a membership fee which was not returnable and also agreed to pay $4.00 which was to be considered as a loan and to be repaid by the organization when it was financially able to do so.

On April 7, 1941, 950 day-old Barred Rock chicks (these are good for laying eggs and also for meat purposes) were delivered. Nnineteen members had each paid for fifty birds. Eight weeks later each member received forty-eight (twenty-three cockerels and twenty-five pullets) out of this original fifty.

Up to the present time over 4,000 chickens have been raised from day-old chicks. The number of chicks which died has been kept to a minimum of about 5% and there are chickens and eggs in practically every home in Aberdeen.

The future outlook is very optimistic. The program fits into the production program of the War Production Board. Surplus meat and eggs are being sold and when the supply of each is large enough, they will be marketed cooperatively.

This type of cooperative enterprise will lead to many others. A movement is on foot to plant orchards in yards to produce fruits which are a necessary part of the daily diet. Home crafts have been encouraged to make useful things for the home and to augment the weekly income. A beginning has been made and the possibilities of expansion are tremendous.

### Co-ops in the Schoolroom

The students of Aberdeen Gardens have been learning the "A B C" of cooperatives in the classroom from their teachers, from lectures by specialists, from books and pamphlets and from actual experience.

The need for more income or the more effective utilization of the income received is a major problem of the teachers, students and the parents. Some of the latter have organized cooperatives which have been operating under circumstances previously explained and with a fair measure of success.

The manager of the housing project suggested the possibility of a school cooperative to the principal of school. The idea was quickly taken up and discussed by the principal, Mr. Grady Anderson, and the teachers. All were in favor of trying out this project because of the possibilities inherent in such a program. The students were brought in to discuss the possibility and they fell in with the idea as being a wonderful opportunity for them. If their parents could operate a co-operative successfully they were certain they could do as well.

The manager of the Aberdeen Gardens Association and the accountant of the housing project spoke to the student body of the school consisting of children from 6 to 17 years of age and ranging from the first to the seventh grades. The teachers spoke to each class, explaining what a co-operative was and how it operated. From here the students carried the responsibilities on their own shoulders.

On October, 1941, the Aberdeen Gardens School Co-operative started. All the children and teachers were eligible to join. The teachers all joined and all the students either joined or promised they would. Shares of stock sold for 10 cents each. In addition to the money raised by the sale of shares, the students decided that their previously accumulated school activities fund of $10 should be used to supply some of the beginning capital so that they could buy goods to sell to themselves. They have adopted the Rochdale principles and are guided by them.

Two members of the board of directors were selected from the students in each of the six classrooms (there are one or more grades in each room). There are 12 directors in all. The officers were chosen by and from the board as was also the manager, who is twelve years old. The clerks in the store are from the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades and when the store was first opened, a careful record was kept of the sales to each person. The board soon realized the large amount of bookkeeping necessary and devised a system of checks which they gave as receipts for purchases made. Now, the students save the receipts and just before dividends are declared, these receipts are turned in to the co-op manager and are used as the basis for the distribution of dividends when profits are made.

The kinds of items handled by the co-op are fruit, candy, milk, raisins, dried apricots, cold drinks, school supplies, pencils and notebooks. Sales take place between 12:00 noon and 12:45 P.M. each school day. These sales run from $1 to $3 a day. Purchases from wholesalers are made once or twice a week.

The co-op has not had smooth sailing altogether since its start. The room which was used as the store was also used for other purposes with many people having access to the room at all hours. Goods were disappearing and could not be accounted for. The board of directors met and discussed the situation among themselves and with the teachers. This resulted in a change of location to another room. Now, no one but those responsible to the co-op have access to the store.

### Students Gain Experience

The teachers of the various classes have aided the educational program in various ways. Some have used art as the method. Others have made use of arithmetic, English, history, civics and the like. Each presented the idea of cooperatives in a way which would interest her students and for the most part, the results speak for themselves.

The students are getting experience in practical economics, in responsibility, in managing a going business, in merchandising, handling real money, keeping books and records, arithmetic, communications, art, home economics, civics; in organizing and running an organization and in building character in voting. These are a few of the advantages of the

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# Indirect Rule

*(Continued from page 108)*

order of the Governor, since the chiefs and not the Commissioners are made responsible for the collection of the taxes. Native defaulters are liable to arrest and imprisonment by the chiefs, who are invested with judicial powers.

To raise money for their taxes, the natives are encouraged to leave their villages and seek employment in the mines and plantations owned and operated by European capitalists. Thus, quite apart from strict economic necessity, the system of direct taxation is a means of supplying cheap labor to private enterprise. A part of the money collected in the form of direct taxes and court fines is retained by the chiefs for the upkeep of their establishments. The bulk of this money, however, is squandered on the salaries of the native rulers, defraying the upkeep of palatial quarters and large retinues, and is providing durbars for visiting Governors and Provincial Commissioners.

Direct taxation in Sierra Leone, officially known as "the ancient and loyal colony," has been a subject of protest for over two generations. When the British established their protectorate over the hinterland of this territory all chiefs were instructed to collect from every native a hut tax of 10s. for handing over to the British Government, which would make the chiefs a rebate of 5s. The enforcement of the tax led to an uprising in 1898, and an official enquiry under the chairmanship of Sir David Chalmers condemned the tax as "obnoxious to the customs and feelings of the people." However, it was decided to retain the tax but to reduce it to 5s., and it is still being collected. (See R. L. Buell: *The Native Problem in Africa*, Vol. I, p. 863)

Chiefs who fail to hand over the amount estimated for their districts by the Central Government forfeit the deficit from their subsidies. Consequently, they frequently resort to the most barbarous methods to collect taxes. They hold women and children as hostages; flog and torture defaulters. Red Guinea pepper, salt and the sjambok—the raw rhinoceros hide whip—are the instruments which have been used as "an official warrant" for the purpose of extorting taxes from the natives in the Sierra Leone protectorate. Sometimes cases involving death through torture come to the attention of Parliament. For example, on May 24, 1941, Rev. Reginald Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for Colonies "whether the Sierra Leone Government have been asked to institute an enquiry into the charges made to them of flogging and the administration of pepper employed to induce the prompt payment of government taxes in the colony and, in particular, at Bunumbu; or what steps have been taken to refute them?"

Replying to this question, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, then Colonial Secretary, said "The Governor informs me that while there has been no specific demand for an inquiry, he was asked 'for any report or information which the Government would be in a position to supply' on the matter. An incident at Bunumbu had already been reported, and an investigation begun on 6th February revealed that four persons had been tied up by chiefdom messengers, who rubbed pepper on them. These messengers have been dismissed and are liable to action for assault, while a court messenger who was present but took no active part has been punished by reduction in rank. No chief or member of the tribal authority was involved." (Hansard, May 24, 1941)

### Hinders National Development

Apart from the fact that Indirect Rule is "cheap, effective and a way of getting into touch with all Africans, however backward," as Margery Perham puts it (*Africans and British Rule*, p. 74), it is being used by the Colonial Office to put a brake on the developing national consciousness among the Africans and to defer the introduction of western democratic institutions.

"Blessed will be the generation of this glorious land that will see the end of the indirect rule system and the end of native administration," declares the leading native paper of West Africa, the "West African Pilot" (March 23, 1941). "Any system of government which nurtures feudalism or advances a baronial class who must thrive at the expense of the lower classes is undesirable. . . . The powerful indirect rulers of the north enjoy good salaries and oriental palaces, they have nothing to complain. But the masses under them have no justice, no education and their health is not enviable. . . . The building up of a ruling class, vested with power, supplied with money and set up to live in pomp and luxury side by side with a very poor and underfed peasant class, will have exactly the same result as such a system has had in other countries—namely, the people seek the destruction of such institutions. When the poor discover that they cannot reach the Government with their grievances except through a stifled organisation their dislike is expressed in a sudden turn to violence and the contagion spreads. We warn Government to read the signs of the times, modernise and modify the relation between the subject people and the native authorities under whom they live."

*Wounded South African native troops return from battle*

Indirect Rule most emphatically impedes the economic and cultural development of the masses. For in order to bolster up anachronistic tribal institutions which, left to themselves, would disintegrate under the impact of modern ideas, the authorities use the chiefs to combat all progressive ideology. "There is at the present time a school of thought among Africans themselves which professes to look upon native administration as old-fashioned and retrogressive and not in accordance with the spirit of democracy or of the times," declared Capt. J. A. McKenzie, M.C., in an address to the Federal Council of the Western Provinces of Nigeria. (reported in The West African Review (London), May, 1941).

"Most educated Africans, especially in West Africa and the Sudan, criticise and even strongly condemn indirect rule," asserts Margery Perham (Africans and British Rule, p. 69). "They say that indirect rule gives power to uneducated chiefs and elders instead of to the educated; that it strengthens tribal feeling and so continues the disunity of the country. It is, they say, part of the old policy of 'divide and rule,' by which an imperial power keeps its subjects weak and prevents their advance towards self-government."

### Dictatorial Powers of the Chiefs

Indirect Rule, like Fascism, is essentially undemocratic and dictatorial. The blacks have absolutely no voice in in-

*(Continued on page 124)*

## Book Review

**SEX AND RACE: A History of White, Negro, and Indian Miscegenation in the two Americas. *By J. A. Rogers.* New York: J. A. Rogers Historical Researches, 37 Morningside Ave., 1942. 409 pp, Illustrated. $3..65 postpaid.**

This book has been long overdue, and now we are immensely indebted to Mr. Rogers for this pioneer study of miscegenation in the Americas. Books, of course, have been written on cross-breeding in some of the individual countries of the New World but no one has hitherto attempted a comprehensive study which would give the general reader an overall view of the problem in all its baffling complexities. This is just what Mr. Rogers does.

He begins his study with a summary chapter of what scholarship and science have taught us about the genesis of hybridism in the New World, and naturally enough the better portion of this chapter is devoted to the miscegenation of the Spaniards and Portuguese with the Indians and Negroes in their colonies. One fact he brings into focus, and it is one which is usually slurred in most studies, is the composite racial history of the invading Spaniards and Portuguese. Some years ago the Argentinean scholar and writer, Vicente Rossi, in discussing the "fabrication of a colonial nobility," asked this rhetorical question: "Were the invaders of America white?" To which he gave his own answer in the negative. And then after reviewing the evidence, he concluded that the *conquistadores* were largely *negros-mates and mulatos-terrosos;* i.e., Spanish-Moorish-Negro hybrids. And the Portuguese, as almost every student of these people knows, to use Freyre's phrase, were "less European and even more African" than the Spaniards.

One reason for this extensive hybridism of the "Iberians" is known to all students of European history—the Berber and Moorish conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 A. D. Not until 1609, seven hundred years later, were the Moors finally expelled. And during their seven centuries of domination the Moors freely mixed their "blood" with that of the Spaniards and Portuguese without the intervention of any other race.

The second manner in which the "blood" of a darker people, the Negro, got into the veins of the "Iberians" is not so generally known. It's one of those historical facts Nordic historians like to slur. As early as the fifteenth century, according to documentary records, but probably earlier, Spain and Portugal had had contact with Negro Africa and Negro slaves were numerous in both countries. And mulattoes were numerous too, for the Spaniards had a law as early as the seventeenth century which prohibited the exportation of mestizos and mulatto slaves to the Americas.

Here, then, we have an already hybridized people conquering the Americas and freely mixing their "blood" with, first, the native Indian women, and later, with the importation of Negro slaves from Africa, the Negro. Most of the mixing was through widespread concubinage with a sprinkling of legal marriage here and there. Because of the total lack

(*Continued on page* 123)

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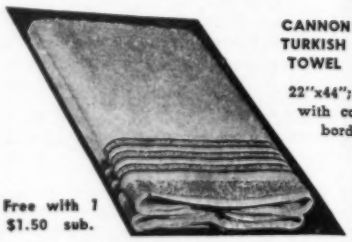

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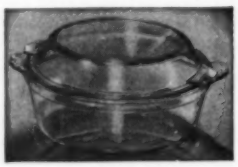

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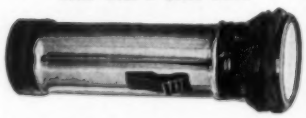

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## Book Review

(Continued from page 121)

of white women in the colonies in the early years, this concubinage was eagerly encouraged by both Church and State. Ortiz says that in Cuba there was so much legal mixing of the aristocracy with mulattoes that a law was finally passed prohibiting mixed-marriages.

Offsprings of these mixed unions bore designations varying with the stocks that had contributed to the crossing. A cross between, for example, a European and an Indian was called a *mestizo*; a cross between a European and a Negro, a *mulato;* a cross between a Negro and an Indian, a *sambo;* and so on to some dozens of terms for the various ethnic crosses. Rogers lists some of these, with pictures of the crosses, in his book.

This was the racial pattern and the genesis of miscegenation in all the Latin-American lands. Socially the Spaniards born in Spain, called *chapetones* (wearers of spurs), were at the top; then came the *criollos* born of Spanish fathers; then the mestizos and mulattoes; and at the bottom, the Negro slaves.

Naturally successful mestizos and mulattoes tried to identify themselves with the ruling "whites" at the top, and the law often made it possible for successful mixed-bloods to have themselves declared *legally white.* Hence many famous Latin-Americans are of not only Indian but Negro ancestry. Simon Bolivar, for example, was a mixed-blood with probable African ancestry; Nilo Peçanha, president of Brazil; Baron Cotegipe of Brazil; Joaquin Crespo of Venezuela, and many others too numerous to mention, many of whom, however, are listed by our author.

These facts shows emphatically that Latin America is not all "white." José Vasconcelos of Mexico calls Latin Americans "the cosmic race," the new race of the future.

After passing in review the hybridism of Latin America, Rogers turns his attention to miscegenation in Anglo-Saxon America. The picture he paints is roughly similar to the one he has drawn for Latin America. In the English colonies the whites mixed with the Indians first and then with the Negro. But the Anglo-Saxon tendency was not so much to absorb the Indian, as in Latin America, but to exterminate him. The lower cultural level of the North American Indian as compared with that of his brothers in South America and the early importation of white women made for less racial cross-breeding in the English colonies. The puritanical code of Anglo-Saxon sexual morality also acted as a deterrent in comparison with the more lenient code of Catholic America. But with all these handicaps miscegenation was widespread.


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The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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Most of it as in Latin America was through concubinage but with a surprisingly large number of legal marriages both of white men with colored women as well as of colored men with white women—and much of this was in the South too!

For Florida and Louisiana white colonies of Spain and France never had laws against intermarriage. Rogers digs up one case, that of A. T. Morgan of Mississippi of all places, who had the law against intermarriage repealed so that he might marry a Negro woman. Many white masters freed their Negro mistresses, moved North with them, and later married them. Several instances of this are listed. Many famous Americans had Negro mistresses and mulatto children: Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Colonel Thomas H. Benton, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, ninth vice-president of the United States, Thaddeus Stevens, and others.

Rogers has also noted many historical sidelights never mentioned in the history texts: that Negroes, both slave and free, were often co-respondents in divorce suits of prominent white men; that upper-class white women often kept Negro lovers; that rich Negroes often had white wives and concubines; that white fathers often sold their mulatto daughters into prostitution; that practically all the so-called Indians on the Atlantic seaboard have Negro ancestry; even many "Indians" of the West are Negroes; that white people were frequently sold as Negro slaves; and that miscegenation, despite the law, goes on today just as merrily as of yore.

Our author shows that with the multiple ancestry of Americans that many famous Americans, some of whom he lists, had Negro blood. He also lists the names of many present-day mixed couples and frequently gives their pictures.

This book is a piece of absorbing, illuminating reading with its 76 full-page illustrations, its appendixes, anecdotes, and many case histories.

JAMES W. IVY

## Indirect Rule

(*Continued from page* 120)

fluencing public policy nor in its making. They have one duty, and that is to obey the chiefs, who in turn must obey the white men put over them. Any innocent man can be picked up by the special police, which are maintained by the native administration, brought before the chief's court and thrown into prison. He has no right to legal representation.

The judicial power vested in the native authority makes the chief the dispenser of the law, subject only to the superior jurisdiction of the political commissioner stationed in his district as "adviser." The chief's own police are known in Northern Nigeria as *dogarai*. Quite often the chief is prosecutor and judge combined, and he employs his personal jailors to hold his victims in custody at his own pleasure.

A newspaper in West Africa, the *Nigerian Eastern Mail* (July 20, 1940), reporting a meeting of the Resident, which was held in the High Court, Enugu, with representatives of the various unions and societies in the district, to discuss the question of the Unugu native court, observed: "It is noteworthy that the general feeling of the meeting was against having anything to do with a native court for Enugu. . . . We ourselves have always been entirely lacking in enthusiasm for these so-called 'native courts.' In our opnion the scandal of bribery and corruption permeates the whole system and we see little likelihood of there being any pertinent improvement in this respect. The authorities tell us that the native court system has proved popular with the people. We are unable to accept this assurance without qualification. . . . The system is of course very popular with the venal chiefs and even among the honest and upright chiefs who are attracted by the dignity and prestige attached to court membership. But there is no educated and enlightened African in Nigeria who would prefer to have his case tried before a native court rather than before a magistrate of the Supreme Court or even a provincial court officer. If there is any educated African with such strange preference, we have never met him.

"In the opinion of Captain O'Connor (the British Resident), objection to a native court would imply that natives cannot be trusted to do justice. We really cannot be expected to take such argument seriously. African magistrates have proved very popular with the Nigerian public, and there is a public clamour for the appointment of African judges. The leaders of Nigerian public opinion feel strongly that we should be judged by legal minds and by Africans of a class and upbringing that makes them impervious to bribery and not by the most conservative and least enlightened of our fellows who, in very many cases, have neither the intellect to appreciate the principle of judicial integrity nor the strength of character to refuse a bribe."

No dictator ever had greater power than these black agents of British colonial misrule. For as long as the chiefs collect the amount of the tax assigned for their districts and supply such forced labor as is called for, the Commissioners avoid as much as possible any intervention in purely native affairs, such as conflicts between chiefs and the people. By avoidance of any embroilment in native palaver, the white official seeks to maintain a superior aloofness as evidence of his prestige.

"The system," says Lord Raglan in his book (*If I Were a Dictator*, pp. 96–97), "is that in each district a man is recognized or appointed as sultan or chief, and is given what in practice are absolute powers. He may rob or torture his subjects; he may waste all the revenue in debauchery, but his subjects dare not complain, and if they did would receive no redress. It is only when there is a rebellion or some glaring scandal which the Government is unable to hush up, that any action is taken.

"The chiefs for the most part have been brought up in an atmosphere of barbarism, and they object strongly to the acquisition of European knowledge, and especially to the learning of the English language by their subjects, and in this they are supported by the Colonial Office, the great aim of which is to prevent any African from learning English."

Indirect Rule has become the most widely used method of British colonial administration. Ironically enough, this brand of Colonial Fascism was introduced into Tanganyika, the former German colony in East Africa, by Sir Donald Cameron, when the British Government took over that territory as a league of Nations mandate. From there it has spread to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, as well as to the South African protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. Indeed, Indirect Rule has gone for beyond Africa. In Malaya, the Governor of Singapore, who was also High Commissioner for the Federated and Unfederated States of Johore, Kedal, Perak, Selangor, ruled through native chiefs or sultans, who took their orders from British Residents.

## Democracy

(*Continued from page* 119)

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### New York Publisher Dies

Fred R. Moore, pioneer journalist and friend of Booker T. Washington, died at his New York City home, Monday, March 1. For thirty years editor of the *New York Age,* Mr. Moore had in his eighty-five years lived a full and useful life. A former alderman of the 21st Assembly district, where he served for four years, he was appointed Minister to Liberia by President Taft. He served in this capacity for several months, without leaving the country, until the election of Woodrow Wilson to the presidency. Co-founder, with the late Jerome Bowers Peterman, of the *Age,* Mr. Moore was father-in-law to Lester Walton, present Minister to Liberia.

### Editor Writes on Press

The April *Magazine Digest* has an article, "The Negro Press Hits Back," by Roy Wilkins, discussing the attacks of the past few months on the Negro press. *Magazine Digest* is published in Canada, but copies are on sale at most U. S. newsstands.

### The New Freedom

A high wind that is blowing—
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Upon the waiting sea.
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A shriek of shell and thunder—
A brave ship sunk down under . . .
Then silence kneels, in wonder,
At black men floating—FREE!

—Helna Issel Bryson

### Donald Jones Joins Staff of NAACP

Donald Jones, until recently publicity director of Dillard university and sales director of group hospitalization of Flint-Goodrich hospital, has been appointed assistant field secretary of the NAACP. Mr. Jones, a native of Louisiana, was for sixteen years a postal employee and for two years managing editor of the New Orleans *Sentinel.* He was a leader in the fight for equalization of teachers' salaries in New Orleans which was successfully concluded in 1942.


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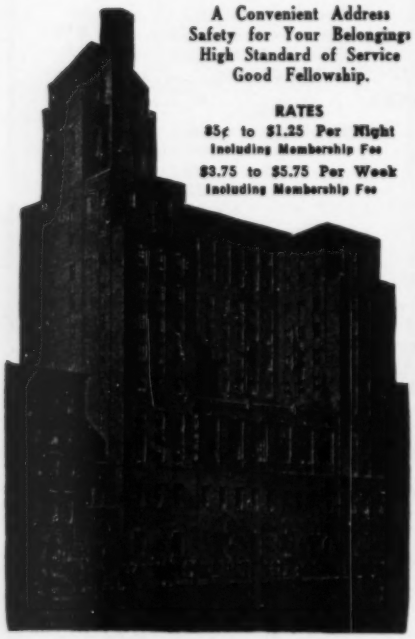

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AFTER the conviction, as is so often the case, the NAACP was called upon to try to save the men by appealing to a higher court. NAACP lawyers, headed by Thurgood Marshall and backed by NAACP branches and the National Office, argued on February 10 for a writ of habeas corpus to free the men on the ground that the federal court did not have jurisdiction in the first instance.

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| TOTAL LIABILITIES | | $745,061.50 |
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| | | $1,202,445.28 |

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